

AN IRREGULAR
DISSERTATION

1058.612
Occasioned by the Reading of

Father DU HALDE's

DESCRIPTION

OF

CHINA.

Which may be read at any Time,
except in the present YEAR 1740.



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DISSEMINATION
OF
THE
BRITISH
MUSEUM
OF
NATURAL
HISTORY
AND
ANTHROPOLOGY
OF
MAN
AND
THE
PRIMATE
MAMMALS
OF
THE
WORLD
BY
J. E. S. B. SMITH
F.R.S.
LOND.
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MUSEUM
BRITAN
NICVM

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in the Strand

AN IRREGULAR
DISSERTATION

Occasioned by the Reading of

Father *DU HALDE*'s

DESCRIPTION of CHINA.

RETURN you Fa-
ther *Du Halde*'s large
and particuler Account
of *China*, by which, if I
have gatheted little other
Instruction, I am thus

far the better, that it has taught me to
love the Constitution of my own free
Country still more, after I have com-
pared it with the *Cbinese*, which is sup-
posed to be the compleatest Model of
an arbitrary Government.

I have often heard it made a matter
of Wonder, that this wide Empire
should have subsisted so very long with-
out any considerable Alteration of Ma-

xims, Customs, Religion, Language, or Habit. This has been ascribed to something very wise in the Form of their Government, which has continued sacred and untouched, notwithstanding of many State Revolutions; but now I doubt, if some of the facts have not been too lightly taken for granted.

I suppose the Miracle does not consist in this, that the Country, called *China*, lies just where it did after the Deluge; washed by the Sea on the South and East, guarded on the West by Mountains almost inaccessible, and on the North by cold and inhospitable Deserts: From its very Situation, *China* is a sort of World by itself. Invasions by Sea are not well understood in those Countries. From the West such an Attempt always was impracticable: From the North frequently practised; and thence that feeble Security, the huge and expensive Wall, which only serves to shew how early the *Tartars* were formidable, and consequently, how long ago *China* was impotent: For the *Tartars* of all Denominations, that lie contiguous to *China*, being put together, are, comparatively

ratively speaking, but a Handful to the *Chinese*. Thus (by the by) it will ever be; an enervated and inflaved Multitude will always acknowledge the Superiority of a few, if they are brave and free.

But supposing all the *Tartars* of *Mongol*, *Kalkas*, *Eluth*, *Coconor*; *Sifan*, *Tchiticar*, and *Mantcheou*, at once to overrun *China*, it is evident, that in a Century that Drop of Water would be lost in the great Ocean, and the *Tartars* would turn *Chinese*, instead of the *Chinese* Tartarizing. Thus, in Spite of its thin Neighbourhood, *China* will be a World by itself, while our Globe continues in its present State.

To go on in the same tract, in order to account for this pretended Wonder; as it does not lie in the Situation, it lies as little in the Language; for I think it very natural to suppose, that all the People of this isolated Country, (I ask Pardon for a foreign Word) should have one Language; if any Man is surprized at that, I have as good a Right to be surprized, if they should have two. Time was when all were *Celts*, and spoke

Celtick, in *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, and *Illyria*, a Field of Country not much differing in Size from *China*. The *Sclavonick* Nations possess at this Day as large a Space; but we are not to imagine, that the *Chinese* are without very various Dialects, so various, that in some Provinces, the Language of the others is not understood, only there is one common radical Tongue, such as the *Latin*, *Celtick*, *Teutonic*, and *Sclavonick* are in *Europe*.

What keeps them together, and creates the Fallacy, is the Language of the *Mandarins*; but that is no more the Language of *China*, than the *Latin* is ours. It is in Truth a dead Language, the same that was in Use in the Provinces of *Chun tong* and *Kiang nan*, when *Confucius* wrote, but not now spoke, as the proper Language of the Country in any Part of *China*, tho' it is generally in Use about *Nanking*, which is the Seat of Learning, and in some few other Places; but it is not at all wonderful, that this dead Language in which their most esteemed Authors have long ago written, should be continued down as their *Greek* or *Latin*,
and

and should be reckoned as indispensable an Accomplishment in a Man that would pass for learned, as some Knowledge of *Latin* is here.

That this learned Language is *Chinese* and not Foreign, is purely accidental, and that Accident easily accounted for. The *Romans* conquered Nations of many different Languages; the Speech of the Victors and Vanquished would mix in the Provinces, and ingender in every Country a different Barbarism: This would circulate back to the Seat of the Empire, where at last it would deform and overpower the original Tongue. The Palate was nice indeed, not to say over delicate, that could taste the Patavinity of *Livy*, but it requires but ordinary Organs to distinguish *Africanism* in *Appulano*.

A Language thus sickly would easily yield to the succeeding Invaders. The *Goths* of *Theodorick* were a large Body, and flowed in daily. *Italy* was depopulated, and the few *Romans* that remained spoke a vitiated *Latin*. Thus the two Tongues would concur and produce such a mixed Breed as *Italian*: The Difference between that and *Spanish*,

nish, *Portuguese* or *French*, might arise from the different Effects which the Language of the *Ostrogoths*, *Visigoths*, *Sueves*, and *Franks* might have, when incorporated with the degenerate Provincial *Latin* each People met with. Whereas the *Tartars* could not bring such Numbers along as to corrupt the *Chinese*, a Sort of Tongue, hardly, if at all, capable of mixing with another.

The same Considerations will account for the Preservation of the *Greek* longer in Purity than the *Latin*. *Greek* was the Language of the Learned, and would not suffer so much in the Provinces as *Latin*, spoken by, and learned from legionary Soldiers. Not that I imagine that there was not as bad *Greek* spoke in *Epirus* and *Ætolia*, as perhaps the *Greek* of this Day. But as Learning still subsisted, their old Standards would be followed in Writing. After the Translation of the Empire, *Greek* became the only Language of the new Capital, and would of Course begin to decay. Yet what *Procopius* writes is *Greek*, nay, the later *Byzantine* Writers may rather be said to be bad Writers in *Greek*,

Greek, than to write in a Language that is not *Greek*. The Sack of *Constantinople*, which happened not 300 Years ago, brought *Greek* to be a dead Language, but *Latin* was dead long before; nay, not dead only, but buried, for the *Latin* of the Monks was but the Ghost of *Latin*.

Thus I do not think it wonderful, that the learned Language of *China* has continued to this Day, nor that the vulgar Tongue has not been changed for, or mingled with another. Neither is it more marvellous, when the thing is rightly taken, that all Honours are conferred on Men of Learning. For we are not to understand, that in Proportion to a Man's Learning (Integrity and Abilities being supposed equal) his Preferment will be: We are told indeed, that the three Degrees which answer to our Batchellors, Masters, and Doctors, are not conferred but upon strict Examination. But unless we would be very partial to *China*, against ourselves, we may suppose Favour, Compassion, and Slightness in the Routine of those Operations. My Reason is, because I have

known some Masters of Arts at home, more learned than many Doctors of Divinity; several eminent Dunces and Ignorants called to the Bar, and untitled Gentlemen better Scholars than most Graduates: And I am as apt to presume the same Things in *China*, as that their Pulses beat, and their Lungs play.

Neither can I altogether admit the Fact as credible. I believe the Rule is general, that no Man gets the ordinary Preferments, either in the State, or the Law, without some Literature, and one pretty plain Reason for it is, that no others seek it, or, reasonably speaking, can seek it. The *Chinese* reading is very hard, so that it is not as with us, where most Children of both Sexes are taught to read; or as in *Germany*, where every Inn-keeper speaks *Latin*; few Children are bred to Letters, and it is but fair to suppose, that all of those do not thrive; my Author says, that by far the greatest Part do not: It is the first Choice Parents must make for their Boys, to entertain or enounce Hopes of the *Mandarin*. If the Child is not bred to it, few

few will begin it late, too few to be reckoned upon, against a general Rule. Thus I take it for granted, that the Candidates for Places in the State or the Law, must be almost circumscribed to the Scholars. And yet their History affords Examples of the contrary; an Associate in the Empire taken from the Plough, a Mason chosen Prime-Minister at a Venture: These, I presume, tho' very wise Men, had never the Education of *Mandarins*.

Here then it lands. *Learning, or a Pretension to Learning, has been Time out of Mind in China, reckoned necessary to all Employments requiring, or that are thought to require Learning, or a Pretension to it.* Thus it is there, and thus it is here, and every where. Even in *Turkey*, the Cady, or Judge of a Town, is a Man bred to the Law: With us an Under Sheriff is an Attorney; a Bailiff can read and write; and an Exciseman stick in a Pen at his Ear.

It would indeed seem strange, if any Learning should be thought necessary to qualify a Man for a Place at Court; and I would not have that wise People charg-

ed with such an Absurdity, as expecting that a L---d Ch-----n should judge of Compositions. But the Fact is otherwise. They require that their Financiers, Tax-gatherers, and Commissaries of all Sorts should write a little (how could they cheat else?) but it must be considered, that they have several Orders all superior to the *Mandarinate*, which our *Europeans* translate by the Names of *Regulo's*, *Dukes*, *Counts*, and the like. And, as I take it, the polite Illiterate of all Sorts are the Seminary out of which such Dignitaries are taken, as scorn to debase themselves to *Mandarins*: But this shews the Error of those that think there is no Road open to *Chinese* Advancement, but that of Science. It is indeed the high Road, and conducts the weary Travellers to be inferior Judges, and Secretaries of Offices, and Undertellers; but there is an easier and nearer Way, which, like the Royal Road to *Fulham*, shuns the Stones and Myre, and leads to other Preferments, to be Grandees, Tellers, Commissioners, Directors, and the like, the less learned, I fancy, the better,

better, provided they know *Yes* from *No*. *Tout comme chez nous*.

That the *Chinese* have never changed their Customs, is hard to make out, and at this Time and Place as hard to disprove. If it was granted, it would prove little, for natural Customs once received, acquire a Sort of superstitious Regard, to overbalance which, a new Custom must come very much recommended indeed. New Customs must first be tried by Theory, before they are admitted to practice. Where Superstition (I mean only the Superstition of common Life, not that of Religion) interposes, it has often the Negative upon making the Experiment, and will prepossess against the Hopes of a permanent Success after a first or a hundredth Example: All this besides discrediting the Theory, to which Laziness, and perhaps Fear, or Love of a Popularity, will contribute.

The Customs best established by the *Chinese* Antiquities, must be such as their Tribunal of Rites have settled. I am sorry that our Information does not go so far, as to let us know under what Emperor that Tribunal began, or how old

old Records they have of its proceedings. I must therefore allow it (for Want of better Lights) to be a Court by Prescription, Time out of Mind. Still let me treat *China* with that reverent Awe, which I owe to our own Island, and no more. I could quote a very great Authority in the Law, to prove, that the Courts of Justice in *England*, not only have been Time out of Mind, but are ancients than *Julius Caesar*, for which, amongst others, this notable Argument is brought, That our *Trojan* Ancestors using the *Greek* Tongue (as to which Quære?) *Brute* introduced those Courts we see, one Officer of which is still called *Proto-Notary*, by a Composition in which the *Greek* has a Share, to which I must add, and the *Latin* too.

Yet, laying aside this critical Proof, few Lawyers, now alive in *England*, think in their Conscience, that the Court of *King's Bench* is older than *King Egbert*. Let us make the same Stretch in Favour of the *Chinese*, and their Customs are not a bit ancients than our own. The same Attention in the Ministers to pilfer, the same Disgusts in the People,

People, whose Pockets are picked; Barons Wars there and here, allowing for the Difference between greater and smaller Barons: Now a fortunate *Tartar* takes the Throne, like a *Dane* or a *Norman*; now a powerful Nobleman, such as *Harold*; oftner (what we have never seen) a Prime Minister seizes it. In the mean Time, the Trade of Bowing, Visiting, Courting, Cringing, Promising, Bribing, Betraying, all the Virtues of the Face go on, all there constituted by a grave Countenance of Authority. It is a Wonder, that without a Tribunal of Rites, *Europeans* have done so well.

The Reason will by and by appear, why such Customs, as the Tribunal of Rites were appointed to guard, could not easily go into Disuse. Insincerity is the Basis of Chinese Policy. The Prince casts up his Eyes, invokes the God of Heaven, and attributes to his Neglect of Duty that his People are afflicted, which very likely is true. The Mandarin curses himself as falling short of the god-like imperial Examples. The Flock extols and abhors the fatherly-sheering Shepherd their Mandarin: No one's
Groans

Groans reach beyond the Closet; every Porter thinks to cheat his Neighbour, the Cocker, with Felicitations of their common Lot. The daily, hourly Train goes on; and yet in all that immense Empire no one is deceived, because no one trusts.

Their Garb too has continued the same. If the Habit of Ceremony established by the Tribunal of Rites is meant, it must be so; And so will the Coats of our Heralds continue while this Nation lasts. But if this is meant of the common Dress of the Country, the Fact is not sufficiently ascertained. Yet if it were, what then? Nothing more is required to Cloathing, but to be warm in Winter, and cool in Summer: Cloathing is built on a real Want; Dress only upon Fancy, and that Fancy generally upon Idleness. In *China*, Idleness is criminal; a wise Policy, you'll say. True, but the less meritorious for being necessary.

The Soil of *China* with ordinary Cultivation would starve Half the Inhabitants. Our Plow is too slovenly an Instrument for them: All must be dressed
into

into Garden Ground, to increase the Product, and to this the Force of Manure must be carefully added: But if all were Husbandmen, who would provide the other Necessaries? Hence flows the Need of Artificers and Merchants. The common Security requires Officers, and (they think) an Army, but an idle Gentleman is a Burden upon the Publick, that Publick which can so little spare the Bread that should feed the Busy.

Idleness then cannot be in *China*, the Parent of new Fashions in Dress: there is another Source of it, which is likewise cut off, I mean Gallantry. Where Ladies enjoy their Liberty, they will, they must, they ought to dress: it becomes them to use all honest Arts to make themselves lovely. Emulation will breed Variety, where, with equal Beauty, the best drest Woman carries the Lover. But it is not the avowed Part of a Lady to please Men: Men may fairly own a Design to please the fair Sex. The Man of Worth always should have, and it is to be hoped, always has the Preference. But a
fine

fine Person is no despicable Article: Where that is found, Gentleness in Dress secures the Advantage, and where it is not Dress, is look'd on as partly an Attonement for the Want. Thus, where the Field of Love is open, if Men are taken with Dress, the Ladies will study it: If the Ladies like it, the Men will outbid each other, and rather turn Fops than fail to please them. In *Spain* there is no Fluctuation of Mode. Why? Because the Women are Prisoners. Let them Abroad, and they will Dress against one another, and then the Men too will strive who shall be foremost. The same is the Case in *China*, a Nation almost as grave, much more employed, and much less subject to the Avocations of Gallantry, which among the *Spaniards* is a very considerable, tho' a contraband Trade.

But the Laws of *China* have not been altered from the earliest Times of their History, nor their Maxims of Government. That I shall presently examine; but it must be first admitted to me, that the Governors have been often changed. Let us view their Story a little.

little. They reckon 22 Dynasties or different Families that have possessed the Throne: Passive Obedience may be the professed Principle of the Body of the People in that Country, but surely Two and twenty Revolutions could not be brought about without Two and twenty actual Insurrections and civil Wars. The Chinese Sceptre came thrice into the Hands of Tartar Invaders. Ten Times did Prime Ministers, (whether called *Viziers*, *Præfecti Prætorio*, or *Colaos*, no Matter) set aside the Regnant Family to make Place for themselves. Thrice the supreme Command was attained by Captains of Thieves, once by a seditious Cōbler; and tho' all these Revolutions had natural Causes in the Tyranny or Imbecillity of the Prince de-throned, yet it happened but seldom, (only twice) that Imperial Monsters were expelled by a deliberate Act of national Justice: and both those Examples fell out very long ago. The Crown that *Nu*, a virtuous Prince had deserved, was forfeited by the Miscreant *Kie* his Descendant, at the Distance of above 400 Years. *Tching Tong*, a tributary Prince, and

and an excellent Man, being prevailed on to undertake the publick Defence against the Tyrant, transmitted the Sceptre to his Posterity, which enjoyed it for more than 600 Years, till *Tcheou*, another *Kiè*, arose and oppressed the Nation to his own undoing. The illustrious *Vou Vang* rid the Earth of that Pest, and reigned in his Stead.

I have sometimes been tempted to wonder where those Emperors reigned, whose Names are continued down to us in this History. The South Parts of *China* we know nothing of all but Yesterday. The Theatre of Action of old, seems to be confined to the Countries North of the Yellow River, and was not till long afterwards extended to those that lie between that and the great River. But the inferior hereditary Sovereignities were so numerous and so powerful, that they seem hardly to have left the Emperor Room to keep his Court. Something like the *Pateologi*, who long before the Siege of *Constantinople*, had hardly any Thing but that single City to support the proud Name of an Emperor, and not quite that nei-
ther,

ther, for the *Genoese* had an independent Town in the Heart of it.

Vassalage is but an unavailing Name, where the Vassals are the strongest. Thus the Kings in *China* warr'd upon, and worried one another, their impotent Emperor looking on, till the King of *Tsin* grew, at last, strong enough to seize the supreme Dignity from the Descendents of *You Yang*, near nine Hundred Years after his Accession; when, by Weakness and Misgovernment, they left themselves but the Shadow of an Authority. *Confucius* was not born under an Emperor of *China*, but under one of those provincial Princes, whose Prime Minister his Father was.

With all those Changes of Governors, say the *Chinese*, our Government underwent no Change; that is, if I rightly understand it, the People still were governed. And so it would be in any other Country.

Still they were governed by the same Laws, the same Courts, and the same Maxims. One Maxim I admit never was changed, and one Law, That the Prince was absolute, and his Will their Rule.

Rule. But to consider this Matter more nearly,

An Alteration from one Arbitrary Government to another, does not naturally breed any Alteration of such Laws as regulate either private Property, the Plan of ordinary Punishment, the Course of Succession, or even an established Police, consistent with absolute Power in the Prince. To give an Instance. Primogeniture is an early Law in China. Be it so; but the Law once standing so, what had a Revolution to do with it? Primogeniture has one Consequence very favourable to Arbitrary Government, that for one that is provided, several are poor; these must work, and hard Labour is an Enemy to Plots. A Diffusion of Property gives to more People Stocks to begin upon, and places more out of the Fear of immediate Want; such have Leisure to think; and whoever thinks will naturally ask himself, *What made me a Slave? Is there any Duty, any Reason for it?* These are shrewd Questions; and the worst is, the Answers are easy, unless Pains are taken to disguise them. For this

this Reason I think that Laws will stand still, notwithstanding of Revolutions. In *France*, every Province has its peculiar Law, which it is not worth a King's while to abrogate or change, so long as it is agreed that the Royal Will is, in every Case, an Exception from it.

As for Maxims of Government, I have already said that I know but of one in *China*, the Will of the Prince. The Execution of this Will is no Matter of Wonder in *China*, being the same that ever has been, and ever will be in all absolute Governments, where no Branch of Power, not even the smallest, is left to the People. In *England*, Corporations chuse their own Magistrates; and anciently Counties elected their Sheriffs, as the Citizens of *London* still do. Even in *France*, the Magistracy of Towns is, in a great Measure, left to the Burgeses. In *Spain*, the King superadds a Corregidor. But in *Turkey* there is no such Thing. Nor would be in *France* or *Spain*, but for a Relict of their ancient Liberty. In *China* there are Governors of Provinces, Governors of Cities, Towns, Burghs and Villages; some

some with Civil Jurisdiction, others with Military Power, but all named by the Crown; a natural Plan, and incident to all such Governments.

As to their Sovereign Tribunals at *Peking*, most Nations, free as well as enslaved, have something corresponding to them. The first is their *Ly pou*, or Court of Offices; a laudable Institution indeed, and excellent in Theory. Without Favour or Partiality, this Court recommends to all Vacancies the Persons fittest for them; and if a Knave or a Fool once, upon the *Mandarins* List, slips in, it is no Fault of the Plan. One Thing only is wanting to this Court, that it is pity they have no Angels in *China*, to fill it with; or, what is next to Angels, *British*-bred Ministers. What answers to it with us is the Lord Chancellor, who, as Keeper of the King's Conscience, should exclude all unworthy Men from Patent Places. As to others, each Office presents in its own Department, and such *Mandarins* are nominated from the Treasury, the Admiralty, the Secretary's Office, the War Office, and the rest, as makes it
to

to be wished that a good Sample of them might be transmitted to *Peking*, for the Imitation of the *Chinese*.

The second Tribunal in *China* is the Exchequer, which there must be an easy Matter, requiring little Arithmetick, and no Algebra at all. This is done in *France* by *Superintendants of Finances, Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aids*, and the like. *Spain* has Cant Words for some such Offices too, if the present niggardly Hunks of a Minister suffer them to stand. In *China* they have fourteen subordinate Courts in different Provinces. We can boast almost as many Courts all in one Country, belonging to the Resort of Exchequer; the Treasury, the Boards of Customs, Excise Taxes, Wine Licenses, Hackney Coaches, Hawkers and Pedlars, Salt Duties, the Mint, Post-Office, Lottery-Offices, and others. I think it more than probable, that the first Mandarin, of the *Chinese* Exchequer would be much to seek, if he were brought on a serious Conversation about the Funds, and that in *Change-Alley* every little Jew Broker or Jobber would sneer at him.

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Next,

Next, there is the *Tribunal of Rites*, whose Hands are full of Work; they examine and inrol the intrant Graduates, and regulate Ceremonies, Sacred and Civil, Arts and Sciences, Musick and Mathematicks. I fear those Gentlemen are overburden'd; for, dropping the Examination of Officers, which here is left upon every Man's own Conscience, we have sometimes found enough to do in dispatching all those weighty Matters by the Opera Company, the Royal Society, the Master of Ceremonies, the College of Heraulds, the Convocation, and the Privy Council.

The Fourth is their *Tribunal of Arms*, answering to our *War Office*, *Board of General Officers*, and *Board of Ordnance*. It is Part of the Province of this Court to clear the Highways and Country of Robbers, some Imitation of which we had till lately in the Highland Independent Companies. It governs the Post-Office, and sends the Soldiers with Dispatches. I fancy too, the *Chinese* make them work at their Highways, Bridges, Canals, and Navigation of Rivers; surely such good-for-something Drudges have

have not the Impudence to call themselves *Gentlemen Soldiers*.

The next Tribunal is their King's Bench, or Criminal Court, much like our own, only that it judges no Causes in the first Instance. As for the last of all, their *Board of Works*, we have likewise such a one, and it is pity that its Power is not extended, as in *China*, to the Tolls, as Bridges, and Ferries, and upon Highways. It would at once extinguish all the Clamours that have been raised as to the Management of the Monies collected at Turnpikes, &c. if all such Collections were added to the Charge of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, who would provide fit and faithful Officers, and be thereby enabled to disburden themselves of several importunate Solicitors for Employments, blessing the Nation with one Class more of Mandarins, well affected to the present Administration.

I perceive the *Chinese* have no Tribunal of the Sea, because they have no Fleet; if they had, they must also have had Navy Boards, and Victualling Offices; and, in Time of War, Trans-

port and Prize Offices. Plantations they have, one Side of *Formosa*, and the Coasts of *Haynan*. It would be worth while to know what are their Qualifications for a foreign Government; and how their Board of Trade and Plantations acts. In a Country where every Branch of Inland Commerce is refined upon, and improved to the utmost; and where there are great foreign Dealings to the East and South, sure the Acts of that Board must make a great Figure in their *Gazette*. If you could procure an Excerpt from it, faithfully translated by some Jesuit, I think it might be printed here, with a short Appendix, containing the whole Transactions of our own Board, for the last Twenty Years, and a Biographical History of all their Excellencies our Governors of Plantations during that Period. For particular Reasons, it may be fit to suppress that of Mr. *Trelawny*.

I have got into the Road of Fooing, you see, and can hardly get out again. I observe these *Chineses* are miserably ignorant as to the Art of Negotiation: What do you think of sending them a
Brace

Brace of Ambassadors, with their Lady Ambassadresses, for a Breed? But I have done.

To you who know my *Badinage*, I leave to separate it from what I seriously meant. The Sum I think is this. The admir'd and envy'd Order of Police in *China*, is nothing but what every Government pretends to: And that the Clock-work is more perfect there than here, so as the Wheels clog less, and go smoother, I see no Reason to think.

The Morality of the *Chinese* Books is very good. It is the same which *Socrates* and *Plato* taught, and which we assent to. *Confucius*, and the Philosophers of his Sect, appear to have been wise and worthy Men, and yet, without Disparagement to them, the Wisdom of *Europe* is less trivial, if it is fair to judge by Father *Couplet's* Translation.

Those Books are, in *China*, the Fountains of Knowledge; in some of them the Knowledge must be infinite: I mean their Book of Mysteries; for of drawing Sense out of Nonsense there can be no End. Suppose yourself set down to

Pythagoras's golden Sentences, which are Sense. You torture yourself to find out one, two, or three Meanings for a Maxim. All your Meanings are good; but you owe nothing to *Pythagoras*, whose Meaning still perhaps you know not, but the Merit of putting you on the Search. In the System of whole and broken Lines, which constitute this occult *Chinese* Philosophy, *Fohi* has still less Merit than the Doctor of *Samos*.

In plain Truth, the Rules of Morality are not intricate. *Confucius*, *Plato*, *Epictetus*, and *Plutarch*, only give you back the Dictates of your own Heart, if you have thought of the Subject. The higher Ethicks, called Politicks, (after the Work of Legislation is over, which requires Skill) needs only the same inviolate Honesty. Great Faults in a settled Government are felt, not by one, but by all; and where there is universal Complaint, Amendment is due. Smaller Faults, tho' seen, are not of sufficient Consequence to warrant the Disturbance of the publick Peace.

In the *Chinese* Writings, I read very lively Lessons to Princes. They are to be

be virtuous, vigilant, tractable, merciful, affable, just. These surely are no Peculiarities in the Politics of China; Such Lectures *Seneca* read to *Nero*, and *Nero*, in the midst of his Enormities, called the Gods to witness, that he practised them daily without Deviation.

The Mandarin is the Father of his particular Charge, the Viceroy of his Country, the Isongton of his double Province, the Emperor of his whole Empire. Who knows not this? The most abandoned Tyrants that ever disgraced Humanity, never profess'd less.

I have ever distrusted Arguments built only on Metaphors, *The King should be a Father to his People*. I say, No. It is unnatural and ridiculous to expect it. No Man can be a Father, nor feel the Bowels of a Father, but a Father. A King, to exercise his Duty as he ought, needs no Affectation of Character; it is sufficient if he remembers that he is a Man, and cares to be honest. The common Benevolence due from all Men to all Men, will be exalted in him. As one honoured, he will be thankful, and faithful as one

trusted, loving as favoured, and never severe but out of Tenderness. Principle must be his only Guide; for let him call himself Father never so long, the *Storge* of Fatherliness belongs not to him.

When therefore I hear it affirmed, that a King should be the Father of his People, I conclude that it means no more but this, that a King should be a good King, and so no doubt Ministers and Sub-Ministers should likewise be good in their Stations; no Governors are so brutal as to disown this. But those who have the least Pretension to paternal Regard are fondest of inculcating this Duty, that they may have a Security from the Transference of an Affection not suited to them, which they do not study to deserve by their Actions. Do you withstand a wicked Minister? He makes it the King's Cause, whose Authority he abuses. Do you resist a bloody Tyrant? Instantly it is made Assassination of your Country, or murdering your Father. Another Maxim of the Chinese Government is very well calculated for preserving

serving an unlimited Power, *That the Emperor is the Vicegerent of Heaven, and that as all his Officers act by his Authority, their Ordinances are divine.*

This is again building upon a Metaphor; Government being intended as a Blessing to Society, (and in that Sense only of Divine Right) the Prince ought to study and practise his Duty with an uncommon Measure of Application, because the highest Trust is reposed in him, and ought, as far as he can, imitate the Perfections of the supreme Governor of the Universe. This a Poet might call acting as the Substitute of Providence; when straightway what is but Illustration is turned into Proposition, and *a King is the Vicegerent of Heaven.* Why? (mark the Reason into which it resolves) *Because he ought to be a good King.* Would that pernicious Doctrine of Divine Right had been confined to *China*; surely it can be of no earthly Use, but putting the worst Governors on a Level with the best. But alas! we see and know that this is the Sophistry of every Soil: *Muley Ismael,*

Domitian, and *John Basilewicz* used it equally, with *Kie* and *Ichon*.

Our Wonder seems to be reduced to this, that from the very Beginning the *Chinese* have been Slaves. It seems they were so as far back as we have their History; and with these hallow'd Maxims, I think the Wonder would have been much greater, if ever they had become free. None of their Revolutions could procure them the Blessing of Liberty, because no Man sought for it, or thought of it.

One Word as to their Religion. It can never be said, that that has remain'd unchang'd, seeing about the Time of our Saviour, the Idolatry of *Foe* made its Way among them; and, if I mistake not, the Body of the People is of that Sect; or of the other of *Tao Ssee*. The Religion of the State is a political Religion, simple enough to mix with most Sects that can be introduced; as consisting, I may say, altogether in Externals, settled by the Tribunal of Rites, and more properly Civil than Religious Ceremonies.

This

They profess to believe one God, an intelligent and moral Agent, and seem to have pretty just Notions of his Attributes, and of the Duties of Natural Religion. They believe him to be offended with Sin, and placable by Sacrifice; in which they agree with almost all the rest of the World. They reverence the Memory of the Dead at stated Feasts and Meetings, where their Behaviour is so equivocal, as that he who worships or invokes his Ancestors or Masters, may find his Conscience satisfied; and yet he who would only celebrate their Praises, needs not be shock'd. There are few Religions that may not be grafted on this Stock. Time might add to it, (and so it has, for most Individuals believe more) but could not easily take from it.

The Emperor is the sole Priest in his Dominions, a Pope of this Deism, and issues his Bulls upon Occasion, defining Orthodoxy; as the last Emperor but one did by the Incitement of the Jesuits. They had been accused by the other Missionaries of conforming to *Pagan* Superstitions; their Answer was, That the

Ceremonies practised were purely Civil, and that the Sacrifice offered by the Emperor was to the true God of Heaven and Earth. Their Adversaries alledged on the contrary, that by the Heaven of the *Chinese* was meant the material Universe, which makes that kind of Atheism called Pantheism; this Mr. *Mairot* affirmed, unless the Jesuits should procure a Declaration from the Sovereign Imperial Pontiff to the contrary, which they had Interest enough to do.

And yet one easily sees, that the Civilities shown to the Jesuits at that Court have flow'd rather from Policy, to learn, by their Means, the *European* Knowledge in Mathematicks and Mechanicks, than from any Design even of conniving at what they taught. It must be owned, that these Fathers have show'd as plausible an Outside of their Religion as could be invented to catch the *Chinese*. Plain, primitive, apostolick Christianity would have needed the peculiar Assistance of Heaven, in a Country over-run with Superstition, and bigotted to Ceremonies. But the Religion of the Virgin *Mary* was not at
all

all unlikely to succeed : Images and Relicks were no Novelties in *China*. The first are in plenty all over the Empire. An Emperor had a Bone of the Impostor *Foë* brought home, and inshrined with most devout Thanksgiving for so precious a Jewel. Austerities, Cloysters, Pilgrimages, Pennances, efficacious Prayers, Invocations of Saints, Passports into the other World, Indulgences in this, Beads, Devices to bilk Purgatory : All these are familiar to the *Bonzes*. Nay, it's remarkable that those *Scelerates* and Impostors, as Father *Du Halde* very justly calls them in many Places, fearing the Ruin of their Trade, which is only the amassing of Money, accused the Missionaries at Court, but finding nothing to say against Usages so like their own, pretended that the Missionaries had secret Designs against the State, of introducing a foreign Power. In this I doubt they guessed pretty well ; for the good Father has neglected to conceal that the Bishops of *China* were named (after long Struggle) by the King of *Portugal*, in Virtue of a special License from the Pope.

I am

I am apt to believe, that if these plain Facts had been known to the Emperor, that his Ecclesiasticks were named by a foreign Prince, and had sworn Obedience to the *Lama* of *Italy*, whose Pretensions are no less than to dispose of Crowns, *in ordine ad spiritualia*; that two great Empires, and many smaller Kingdoms in *America*, are still held by Princes devoted to that *Lama* by no other Tenure; I say, it could not well escape the Emperor, and all his *Colloes* and *Tribunals*, that every grown Man converted to this kind of Christianity, was a Soldier listed in the Service of the *European Lama*.

One would think it reasonable to imagine, that for so enlighten'd a Race as the *Chinese*, the very best Heads among the Missionaries should be pitch'd out; and yet I can perceive that some of the arrantest Blockheads in the *Romish* Church have been allow'd to go there. The Jesuits are too wise to give a true and ample Confession of a Court-of-Rome Faith at *Peking*, and too wise to let any in *Europe*, except special Confidants, know the exact History of their *Manufactures* in
China.

China. It is not from the Decoys, but the Dupes that you can have the unadulterated Truth. Commend me to the good Father *Ravanete*, a *Spanish* Dominican. Nothing is so monstrous as to shock his Credulity, no Trifle so inconsiderable as to escape the Nonsense of his Observation; regardless of Hereticks and their sneering, he vomits out all that the grave Slyness of the Jesuits wou'd conceal. From such undesigning Blunderers, I would think it safest to form my Notions. Can you think that Father *Verbieft* would have treated the *Colao Paul Sia* (a Christian Convert) as a Capucin did one of the Electors in a Sovereignty near *Congo* in *Africa*? The Friars of that Order had boldly declar'd, that no Trade ought to be permitted with the *English* and *Dutch*, who might prevent their Slaves to Heresy, but only to the Catholick *Portuguese*, the Oppressors of all that Country; and the Pain of Trading with the Hereticks was no less than Excommunication. An Elector (a great Man to be sure) had got from an *English* Sea Captain a great deal of very good Punch, and some excellent

Pro-

Protestant Doctrines to boot, which last he unwarily broaching before the Missionaries, Friar *Benedict* gave his Electoral Highness the Catholick Rebuke of a hearty Box on the Ear. Popery being well settled, this bred hardly any Disturbance; only the Elector was fain to ask pardon for being the sinful Cause of the Friar's laudable Fury. But Father *Verbiest* would have thought twice before he had thus unpolitely transgress'd the *Chinese* Ceremonial. And yet let the good Fathers only fix their Footing for twenty Years, with the Law on their Side, it is likely that an heretical Mandarin will think himself well off for ten Boxes on the Ear, and no Question ask'd by the Inquisition.

I am well informed, that the *Indians* in *Mexico*, *Peru*, and the Countries between, are the most blind and bigotted Catholicks in the known World, so implicitly governed by their Priests, that the King of *Spain* is not their Sovereign for an Hour longer than he continues the Servant of the Clergy. I say little of that pretty Principality which the *Jesuits* have erected for themselves in *Paraguay*,

raguay, under the Protection of the Crown of *Spain*; only this, that if their Interests interfered with those of their Over-Lord, no one can doubt whose Side the People would take.

What Pity is it that Christianity is thus misrepresented in the great Empire of *China*! We have as good Mathematicians, as good Engineers and Artificers of all Sorts, as those Fathers, but we have not the same temporal Views. A Jesuit, when he saves a Soul, also makes a Subject to the Pope, and gains a Friend to his Order. It must be confess'd, that a very corrupt Religion may breed very zealous Missionaries. There are some Causes of this pretty obvious, but at present they lie out of my Way; some Time or other I shall give you my Thoughts of them.

The *European* Christianity introduced into *China* was not ill fitted for the Learned, nor for the *Tao Sfeë* as well as the Idolators. One Custom is common to all Sects in *China*, the Reverence of the Dead. A Missionary could safely join in this as a political Usage, nay, could safely adopt it into his own Religion;

ligion; as it is said the Jesuits did, being all Things to all Men; but they deny this, and I know not if it is proved against them. The Principles of *Molinus* would do very well for a *Chinese Quietist*; it is but allegorizing the Draught of Immortality into an intimate Union of the Soul with God. All these Things put together, and well managed, would produce a very comfortable Comprehension of *Epicurean, Christian, Pagan Deism*.

I am much pleased with an Observation of Father *Grebillon's*, in the fourth Volume; after conversing with a *Tartar* Antiquary concerning the Introduction of the Lama's into *Tartary*, who fixed it to the Time of *Gengtuz Can's* Conquest, he concludes, that as *Gengtuz Can* had many Christian Subjects, some holy Men from *Syria* may have settled in that Country, and taught Christianity, which being perverted by the *Bonzes*, and mingled with their Superstition, may have produced the *Tartar* Religion now prevailing. This he infers from the Similitude of many of their Rites to those of the Church of
Rome;

Rome; such as Holy Water, singing the Service, the Cloathing of the Apostles, (Quere, what that was?) the Mitre of the Bishops; and to crown all, the living Oracle of Orthodoxy, *Lama the Great*. The Resemblance is indeed surprising; and as I do not see how this last Article should have been borrowed from the *Greeks*, I should imagine that those Missionary *Lama's* were *Syrians* of the *Latin Church*.

The Custom of kissing the Pope's Toe, however, has been greatly refined upon by those *Tartars*, as gross as we may think them. For if that betokens Humility, how much more meritorious must be the *Tartar* Lowliness, that pays Respect even to the Excrement of the *Lama*. This is carefully dried and preserved for the Use of the devout, but held so dear, that few but Princes and great Lords, can afford to consume it in any salutary Quantity; great Miracles being attributed to this holy Dung. I think the Fancy very ingenious; and if ever an infallible Man should arise among us, in the Station of a Prime Minister, I would recommend this Method

thod as a Test of Obsequiousness to his Measures: Perhaps it would not be amiss, that the Right of Pre-emption of this precious Commodity should be vested in the two ———, or Majority thereof, with the sole Privilege of retailing the same, after serving themselves: The current Price, to prevent Imposition on the inferior Officers, may be advertised thrice a Week in the *Gazetteer*.

The late Emperor *Tongso* persecuted and expelled the Missionaries, except a few retain'd at Court for the *European* Arts and Sciences. What were the true Causes of this is not easy to know; but it is to be feared, that the Secret of *Romish* Principles has some way or other transpired. All the Jesuits of his Time give him the Character of a very penetrating Prince; in which they may be believed, because he was their Enemy. I do not know if they should be as much relied on in that which they give of his Father *Gang-bi*: He appears, by a small Attention to Father *Gerbillon's* Journals, to have been a good, vain, poor Creature. One Symptom of it I think the
Jesuit

Jesuit might have omitted in the End of his third Voyage; that a Letter having arrived from Father *Grimaldi*, the Missionaries of *Peking* sent it to be communicated at Court, with a Translation into *Tartar*. The good Emperor was overjoy'd; and, not content with hearing the Translation, insisted upon hearing the Original too in *Portuguese*.

This is a downright Digression; but before I finish my Observations, I must remark one or two Things more, tho' they should look digressive; for, that *China* is the largest Dominion in the World some have said, but it is not true; those of the Czarina exceed it. The *Spanish* Countries in the *West-Indies* are vastly larger. But no Prince on Earth has such a Multitude of Subjects; nay, they would be much more numerous, were it not for the Scantiness of the Country. It is not easy to guess at the Number of Souls in *China*; for there is Reason to think, that all the Accounts we have are greatly exaggerated. Very exact Registers are kept, but I have not heard it pretended that any *European* ever saw an authentick Excerpt from them,

them. What is said is so inconsistent, as often to destroy itself. For Example,

We are told, that upon an Inquiry it was found, that there were in the Empire about eleven Millions of Families, and about sixty Millions of Men capable of bearing Arms. Men from Twenty to Sixty, excluding Mandarins, the Army, the Bonzes, the Court, the Watermen, and the Learned; all these may be about four Millions more. But what Sort of Families must they have in *China*? Not so numerous as ours (one would think) because the Poor expose such Children as they cannot educate: And yet this Computation allots about six fighting Men at a Median to each Family. In *Europe*, the Proportion of Men from Eighteen to Fifty six is reckoned a fourth of the whole; those from Twenty to Sixty should be something more; but even at that Rate, one Family with another is reckon'd at Twenty four Souls in *China*, which is altogether past Belief.

Again, *Paris* is reckon'd by Mr. De Lese to contain about 800,000 Souls. He allows only 860,000 to *London*; but there

there are several Mistakes in his Computation. If I rightly remember, he makes the Circuit of *Paris* to be about sixteen Miles. The Inhabitants build high Houses, and live in separate Stories; to ballance which, there are some Gardens, Palaces, and Cloysters, many spacious Hotels, and several publick Squares. But what a Space of Ground would *Paris* take up, if all the Houses were of one Story, spread out upon the Ground with Courts on the Inside? One may safely say, that twice that Area would not hold it. Most of the Streets too are narrow.

In *London* each Family is lodged within itself, and the Space built upon contains, for the most Part, a Story under Ground, one even with it, and two or three above. Allowing all Voids, and computing Alleys and paved Courts for Streets, (as indeed they are, when Populoufness is the Question, being thicker inhabited than the Streets of Passage) and considering the Narrowness of almost all the Streets, but the new ones, *London* is a closer Town of its Size than *Paris*: Its Circuit is not less than 18 Miles.

Miles. I know it has been computed at much more; but surely if all the Houses were to consist of one Ground Floor, with a Court-yard, *London* could not be less than thirty Miles about.

In *Peking* all the Houses are of one Story; or if there is a first Floor, it serves only for Warehouse-Room. The Courts in the Emperor's Palace cannot be less in Size than all the Squares and Gardens in *Paris* or *London* put together. The Streets in the new Town are generally forty Yards broad, and the old Town is not fully peopled; yet, with all this, *Peking* is not sixteen Miles round: From which it may be fairly concluded, that it has not above half the Number of Inhabitants that are in *Paris*, and bears still a less Proportion to *London*. *Nanking* is larger than *Paris*, tho' not so large as *London*; but one third Part of *Nanking* is acknowledged to be desolate.

What then shall we think of the other Towns of *China*, which are own'd not to be so full of People as those two? *Kangtchen* is six Miles round, and, with its

its Suburbs, is said to contain two Millions of Souls: If so, it has more than four Times the Number that is at *Peking*. *Soutcheon*, with its Suburbs, is twelve Miles round, far short of *Paris*, *London*, or *Peking*; and yet contains several Millions. No one can give Credit to this.

Hangtcheon is reckoned at a round Million, and yet it is but twelve Miles about, exclusive of the Suburbs, and contains many Gardens. A Christian Batchelor told a Missionary, that there was upon the Toll Register 300,000 Families within the Walls only. At six to a Family, here are 1800,000 Souls, besides those in the Suburbs. Those two Accounts do not tally; and, according to the Considerations abovementioned, *Hangtcheon* should not contain half a Million.

A Million each is allotted to *Canton*, to *Fochan*, an unwall'd Town near it, and to *Kingletching*, where the Porcelaine Ware is made: But in all these Cases, I doubt the same Allowances must be given, as to the *Frenchman* in the known Story, who seeming un-
C
prized

prized when he was told of a Million of Souls in *London*, was asked how many might be in *Paris*, and answered coolly, *About five or six Millions.*

If it is true, that there are sixty four Millions of fighting Men in *China*, then, by Dr. *Halley's* Computation, the total Number of Souls should be about 256 Millions. If there are eleven Millions of Families, at six to a Family, they should be no more than sixty six Millions; a vast Number indeed, but which I take to be not far from the Truth.

In one of the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, (I wish I had the Book at Hand) we are told, that a Dole of a certain Quantity of Rice, on the Empress's Birth-Day, being distributed to all Women past Seventy, about 75000 Women (if I rightly remember) received the Bounty in one Province, none of the most considerable. Take all the fifteen Provinces at that Medium, and suppose the old Men to equal the old Women, and there are 2,250,000 Persons past Seventy in *China*. Reckoning that one Child in thirty arrives at that Age, it gives 67,500,000 Souls for the whole

whole Empire ; pretty near the other Calculation.

Most of the Missionaries seem to have calculated the Populousness of *China* from the Numbers of People to be met in their Streets and Ways, likening them to Markets and Fairs ; and this they make the more remarkable, because no Women are to be seen. But the Wonder vanishes when the Case is consider'd. First, the Relations from which this is principally collected, are of Missionaries on their Travels with State Escorts, so that Crowds would, in all likelihood, be drawn both on account of the Imperial Reverence which brings every Mandarin of sufficient Figure on his Knees, when he only makes a Procession of Ceremony to ask how the Emperor does ; and because the Missionaries, notwithstanding of their *Chinese* Habits, would be known for *Europeans*. In all Appearance, the good Fathers gather'd the Crowd which surprized them so much. Our Cast of Features is very different from theirs ; our Gate, our Manner, our Tone of Voice, all would be wonderful to them, as a *Chinese*

would be to us. Let Mr. *Whitefield* pass through the meanest Market Town, the Man shall gather a Fair, while his Doctrine hardly draws the Tithes: But a *Chinese* Missionary! What incredible Accounts would he give of the Populousness of *England*, unless it were softened by this Consideration?

Next, suppose the Lading of a six Horse Waggon to be taken down, and laid on Mens Shoulders; what a Crowd would it make? We are told of ten Thousand Porters at one Town in *China*; and I dare say the Computation is within Bounds; since the Carriage is all by Men. If all the Wheel Carriage in *London* were to be put on the Backs of the idle Folks within the Bills of Mortality, the Streets would be strangely crowded. I imagine I see it. Good Sir, step aside with your Manufactures. Come, my L--d D--ke, let us lay down these respectable Offals of our noble Patron. Blessed be Heaven! See how these railing Malecontents sabel; look, my Lord; on the Faith of a B---p, I think none of us have ever carried from his Honour a fairer Complexion'd, or better

better betokening Cargo of his Unlad-
ings. Sweet Excrement! let me pro-
claim thee! Here let us expose our pre-
cious Deposit, and take the golden Pan
for our Pains. But Room there! Room!
For what? Oh! it's the foreign Lady;
let me get near. Bless you, Divine
Beauty, Mirror of Virtue, bless you
all, my good Lords, her happy Palan-
guineers; well may you be proud of
carrying her, who bears ~~the~~. But
I dare say you are sick of this Stuff. I
return.

It is easy to fancy what Multitudes
would appear in the Streets of our Me-
tropolis, if all heavy Goods were to be
borne by Porters. Besides, in *China*
another Thing fills their Ways, the
Number of Visitants with their Trains
and Equipages, especially if they are
Persons of Distinction, who never go
abroad without a vast Retinue.

It is true, no Women are ever seen,
because Women are constantly employ'd,
not only in Household Works, but in
Manufactures. Laborious Tasks are
given to Men, but Women are reserved
for whatever requires more Handiness

than Force. All their Silk Weavers are Females. The Men only being allowed to stir out, twice as many Men will for that Reason be seen on the Streets as would otherwise be there; for Commerce requires Carriages, many Travels, Messages and Enquires; and as no Women are allow'd for these, the Number of Men employ'd in them must be the greater. So that to double the Numbers of a Town from a Supposition, that if Women went abroad the Streets would be twice as full, is just to beg the Question.

This prodigious Multitude must be maintain'd by the Product of China, which we are by no means to take to be all arable Ground. Several great Provinces, *Setchuen*, *Yunnan*, *Queitchon*, are very mountaneous. The plain Country in *Chan si* and *Chen si* is not a fourth. Great part of *Tche kiang*, *Fo kien*, *Kiang si*, *Quang tong* and *Quang si*, are incapable of Culture: even in their best Provinces nothing can be made of some large Tracts. The Improvement of the rest is so much the more studied. Handfuls of Earth are brought together and carefully spread

on

on an artificial Terras, which a Rill is with much Pains led to water; and such Banks, losing the least that possibly can be of the horizontal Surface are practised on the Sides of their Hills, as far as the Earth lasts: all little enough to feed the Numbers for whom this extraordinary Husbandry is used.

Over Populousness, the Source of Want, is likewise the Source of all the civil Virtues encouraged to avert it. Industry cannot but be the first Fruit. It is not there as here, that Hands are precious, they must have no Mill-work, and little Carriage by Animals. In this Country the Labour of a Man is reckoned to be misemploy'd in Works that can be done as well by Horses, Wind or Water. Men thus sav'd (it is hoped) still find Work in Manufacture, and tending the Plough. But in *Cbina* they have not Labour enough for their Inhabitants: So that all Carriage but Water-carriage is performed by Men. *Necessity*, says a true Proverb, is the Mother of *Invention*. The saving Horses and Machinery is a Tax which very politic-

by the Rich first or last pay for the Maintenance of the Poor.

This leads me to another civil Virtue, the one I just now mention'd, Invention. The Luxury of the *Ebinese* is not great, and those who hope to live by feeding it would soon starve: yet there are Articles in which they indulge, such as *Porcelane Ware*, and varnish'd Work, tho' not near to the Degree of foolish Fondness which has seized our *Europeans*. The History of *Porcelane*, which is given in Detail from a Missionary on the Place, convince us what Discoveries may be made by Invention once set on the Rack. The opening new Branches of Commerce, and bringing to exquisite Perfection the Inland Traffick of the Country must have been owing to Invention thus tortured. I need hardly add, that Exactness, nay Minuteness in Business, must result from these two.

Shlegm follows next. Interest is the Saint in view; all are intent on their Devotions; no Hopes of thriving by Circumvention, where the Business of all is to weigh Proposals in Scales. Thus a Habit of Gravity will naturally grow.

Where

Where most are grave, Gaity will be
nupt in the Bud: a chearful Boy will be
fashion'd to the decent Brows of his
Country, and a lively Man must be a
Monster.

Laborious, busy, anxious. What can
they be now but Hypocrites? There
are only two Ways of working Men to
a Point, the fair and the false. The
first cannot thrive where every Man
thinks he has a Jobber to deal with.
Of false Working there are likewise two
Ways, the rough and the smooth. The
rough would presently produce Drills,
and at last end in Anarchy. No other
Commerce is left by which interested
Men can understand one another, but
the Method of smooth Falshood,
which I ask pardon for calling Hypo-
crisy, being a Peg or two lower in Sin.
Let it be call'd by the courtly Name of
Good-breeding, and then an *European*
has some Notion of it.

The *Chinese* have a Proverb very ill
founded in Experience, That they have
two Eyes, the *Europeans* one, and
that all the rest of the World are blind.
As for their two Eyes, let them be al-
lowed;

lowed; and I shall grant that the *Indians* meant by the rest of the World are blind; but how they come to allow one Eye to the *Europeans*, I can only find out by the Supposition of a *Chinese* Compliment, that we have an elegant and learned Taste for the Luxuries they can furnish to us, their Tea, their Stuffs, their Pottery, their lacquer'd Ware, and the rest, to which the good *Indians* are wise enough to be blind.

I think I have got into Doctor *Mandeville's* Commonwealth, where private Views are publick Benefits. Literally speaking, *China* is a Republick of Bees, very unlike the Doctor's; for in *China* there are no Drones; all are Bees. But don't you think I am right? Establish once the Rules of Politeness, and lay it down for a Principle, that every one acts for himself, and that (as this Father tells us) a *Chinese* will take a thousand By-roads to screw himself into Favour, even where the Benefit he expects is small, every thing will go jogging on; you cannot expect much from Conscience nor from Principle, but a great deal from Caution, and something from

from that sort of Gratitude one owes to him by whose self-interested Offices one has reaped a Benefit. *That poor Fellow is assiduous, serviceable, at last, kindly. He means well to himself, and not ill to me. Rewards are in my Power.* There I'll place them, rather than elsewhere. Many little Civilities amount to a small Obligation ; many small Obligations to a great one, and so forth. At last Matters come to be so well understood, that no one being supposed to mean what he says, every one is requited according to what he does, and that is far better.

In this Commerce few Cheats will be committed, because none are presumed to be off their Guard ; where they are, it must be either in arrant Trifles left to pilfering, or elaborate Plots of Cozenage to make the eternal Loss of Character worth while.

You think it perhaps a Contradiction that there should be a Preservation of Character in an agreed mutual Hollow-heartedness. I do not mean the Character of an honest Soul, but that of Punctuality and Frankness in Dealing,

which the worst Trafficker will find to be worth some *Units per Cent.* to him.

But I will release you and my self from so unpleasant a Prospect as a Supposition, that all are Knaves in *China*. Mankind are naturally honest. Want, ill Example, bad Education misleads them into, and fixes them in Vice. Thus Necessity introduced among the *Chinese*, first, Industry and Frugality, which are Virtues: those who needed them not, would follow them for the Fashion's sake. Then Invention, which is still a good Quality. Next Gravity, which no one can find fault with. Hitherto all is well: but Want and Self-interest still urging, produc'd Fawning, Disguise and Artifice. The End were lost if Dishonesty were avow'd; so the Protestations of Virtue were the same. Nay, the Appearances of Virtue were kept up; and *equal Bargaining*, which may be the Offspring of *Discretion*, is easily mistaken for *fair Dealing*, the Child of Truth. If one bred in this School is honestly inclin'd, he may follow his Bent, and only conforming himself to the Ceremony of the Times, may

may improve his Mind, and enjoy his Virtue with little Disadvantage but this, that few besides himself will know him from a Rogue, nor will he be such a Fool as to think others like himself without repeated Trials. Thus, I hope, nay, I dare say, it is with Millions of *Chinese*.

Private Justice in *China* is very expeditious, as it may be in all Absolute Governments. Every where else the Fear of Injustice begets that generous Injury Delay, and Delay breeds Chicanery yet with all its Faults a deliberate Accuracy is better than Precipitation, for Truth, God knows, is not so unlike Falschhood as to be distinguish'd at first Sight. Civil Causes are tried, I think, by the inferior Magistrates, from whom there lies an Appeal to the Viceroy of the Province, and from him to the Tson-ton, or Governor of two Provinces. It goes no higher but by Complaints at *Peking* for Male-administration; and these, my Author says, are seldom well received. Appeals too cannot be often of use; for most Sentences are immediately executed by the Bastinado bestow'd either

either on the Plaintiff or the Defendant, and then none seeks Redress but for the Sake of Vengeance; and those who do, must be bold and powerful enough, or well enough supported to be able to declare War.

The Case is not much different in Crimes, except where the Execution is beyond the inferior Magistrate's Power. There the sovereign Tribunal at *Peking* must examine the Sentence, and report to the Emperor, as in capital Cases. It is charitable to suppose, that in all such Causes the Mandarin is on his good Behaviour, and accordingly few of their Sentences are reversed.

In Cases of Police the Viceroy decides and orders without Appeal, but subject indeed to an Impeachment; which, because it is certain few private Men will venture upon, the Law takes care to provide for, in the Manner now to be consider'd.

First, every Mandarin in a Province is subject to the Inspection of his Viceroy; but who insures the Integrity of the Viceroy? Stay a little. This Police of *China*, tho' it is founded on the theoretical

tical Point of Honour of Fatherhood, has also another Leg to stand upon, *viz.* Distrust. You shall see how Checks are multiplied upon Checks, and then you may judge of their Efficacy. The Mandarin of a Village dares not cheat or oppress for fear of his Superior in a Town, who is answerable to his Superior in a City, and he to the Viceroy: As with us, a Gauger dares not misbehave for fear of the Supervisor, nor he for fear of the Commissioners, nor they for fear of the Treasury, nor that for fear of the Parliament, if they stand in no fear of the King. Is the Check sufficient, do you think?

The *Chinese* think not; and therefore they have given to each Viceroy a Council of Assessors, two of which, the Collector and Chief Justice of the Province, are in duty required to accuse him, if he transgresses. I fear the Collector and Justice themselves, being liable to strong Temptations in their own Offices, may dread Accusation as much as the Viceroy, and may strike up an Alliance with him. Father *DuHalde* confirms my Fear in the very fourth Page of his Book, where

where he says, *that they generally understand one another but too well, and learn to wink at one another, unless the Case is past Palliation.* I doubt, that single Sentence discredits the whole Chinese Administration.

Well, but it rests not there; wherever Complaints are made to the high Tribunals at Peking, they impartially examine the Case, and report to the Emperor. Yet still I fear none but flagrant Injustices, suffered by obstinate and seditious Men, who have Friends and Purses sufficient for such an Accusation, are ever heard of there; and if they are, the Viceroys are generally chosen out of those very Boards; so that it may happen they will not be too sanguine in detecting Practices by which they hope, sometime, to make their own Fortunes.

Neither is this Report directly made. It must pass through the Hands of the Court of Colao, or Cabinet Council. Who will believe that a private Accuser has one to ten against his Viceroy, justified to the Colao by the Report of a Sovereign Tribunal?

But

But there are such things as royal Commissions, when the Inquisitors proceed with the utmost Awfulness and Solemnity. Alas! these are never granted but when the Provincial Officers have been foolish enough to fall out among themselves, and, my Author tells me, that those very Inquisitors are not always impregnable.

The greatest Security is still behind the publick Censors. Those dreadful Magistrates sit dumb in the Tribunals of Peking, each remarking what passes, and to every one is committed a Province, whose Magistrates he is bound to watch and accuse, prosecuting his Accusation against the inferior Mandarins as corrupt, the Tribunals as partial, and the *Coleas* as conniving, even to the Displeasure of the Emperor, or to Death: nay, Instances are given of this.

If no Instances could be given, the Office would be sunk as useless; but as these Instances do not happen every Month, I fancy a Censor's Place is none of the worst in the Empire, if Hush-Money has any Charms with him.

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There is no arguing against Fact. Let it be admitted that a Viceroy, the Collector, and Chief Justice have Intelligence together. The Thing is not impossible; for my Author says, it commonly happens. That cuts with a double Edge; first, it shows that they do not look on the Courts of *Peking*, Tribunals, *Colaos*, Censors and all, as downright inexorable, or deaf to solid Reason; and thus promising themselves Impunity, each of the three may plunder very comfortably in his own Sphere, only abstaining from the Folly of Dissention, and an Over-haste to be wealthy; for small Gains often told make the rich Man: And next, their Inferiors will profit by the Example of their gracious Masters, who will not be so absurd as to grudge them a little free Quarter, if the Filching be but tolerably adroit. And yet the same grave Countenances, the same publick Observances, the same Professions of Tenderness on one side, and filial Duty on the other, shall go on; nay, when the Viceroy's Term is out, he shall be attended with Oblations from the People, to testify just this, (and so it

is

is taken) that he is no worse than his Predecessor was, and that his Successor shall have the like Thanks for being no worse than him.

Tell me, supposing what the Reverend Jesuit and I have supposed, is there on Earth a Race of People worse governed than the *Chinese*, except the *Turks* alone? Are not the Consequences natural from an Intelligence among the Ministers? And are not these Consequences the genuine Attendants of absolute Power? I do not say they will always be so. Under *Trajan* or *Von Kang* it would have been otherwise. But the Truth is, that in *China* nothing is required of Governors but to preserve the Peace against Insurrections, which a miserable, poor, and exasperated Populace must from time to time fall into, thereby disturbing the imperial Slumbers, if not shaking the Throne, through the deliberate Rogueries of the Ministers. And thus we have a little consider'd the Probabilities of excessive Grievances in *China* from their Ministers.

But I must add, that I find my Conjectures supported by many straggling
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Passages in the Father's Book, (which
 serve to explain what is meant by the
 Necessity of Learning to Preferment.
 In the Province of *Kiangsi*, one of the
 richest and most populous in the Em-
 pire (tho' there are some larger,) there
 are about 10000 *Bachelors*. That is
 but a first Step to Literature, and gives
 no Title to any Employment: Out of
 that Body the *Licentiates* are chosen,
 about sixty every three Years; and out
 of the *Licentiates* the *Mandarins* are
 taken. Say, that this is the Medium of
 the *Licentiates* for the other fourteen
 Provinces; then no more *Licentiates* are
 admitted throughout the Empire than
 at the Rate of 300 every Year: and as
 that Number is pretty nearly kept, (tho'
 not with perfect Exactness) it may
 well be said, that the Mortality of *Man-
 darins* and *Doctors* is about equal to the
 Promotion of *Licentiates*. Take the
 Lives of *Licentiates* together, and as they
 must not only be grown Men, but already
Bachelors, the medium Time of their
 Admission may be fix'd to their thirti-
 eth Year; so that less than one in twen-
 ty cannot well be supposed to die every
 Year.

Year. At that Rate the whole College of Mandarins throughout China may be considerably less, but cannot in any Likelihood be more than 6000 Men. I speak not of the Army.

What enslaves thee then, miserable foolish China? Can so poor a Number as 6000 Place-men endanger thy Liberties, when the freest Country in the Universe defies an Army of twice as many?

I foresee your Objection, and have made it for you! Nay, I should think it unanswerable, if it were true that every Officer in China, of the State and of the Law, were a Mandarin. For, by the way, this Word *Mandarin* is not Chinese; their Word is *Ly*, which Word our travelled Jesuits translate by *Mandarin*, a Portuguese Term for a Place-man. And therefore when I read of a *Mandarin* with Maces and Rods carried before him, I figure to myself a Judge. A *Mandarin of Arms* having a small Party under him, bating the Pomp of the Sound, I make no Scruple to render a Corporal, and a *Mandarin of the Custom-house*, a *Land-water*. I am sure I have heard

heard a *Gauger* making so solemn Parade of his Character as a *King's Officer*, that it was plain he understood himself to be a *Mandarin*.

Thus you are not to imagine, that every one that is privileged to lord it o'er the People is a Graduate: Our Ears are accustom'd to the Name of a *Mandarin*, which may be innocently enough continued to mean every Place-man to the lowest Dregs of Power: When this is taken along, the *Mandarins* must be a very formidable Corps in *China*, though not in the same Proportion as in some Western Nations. For I cannot conceive that they have any Occasion to multiply Places beyond real Exigency, seeing their Provinces and Burroughs have no Votes for Members of Parliament.

I have already said, that I suspect the Administration of *China* to be a little subject to Juggle, or Art Magick: I own I do not give implicit Credit to my Author, nor to the Missionaries his Informers, whose Interests lead them to keep us in the dark as to many curious Particulars relating to *China*. But I build my Faith principally upon loose Hints,

Hints, which being seemingly of little Value where they are placed, yet may serve when put together to help our Guesses at the Truth. It is from such Hints as these that I am warranted to think that in *China*, as elsewhere, *Kissing goes by Favour*.

Merit is the only Title to Preferment! For Shame, let not that seem a Novelty to us, who never once saw that Golden Rule transgressed. Let us examine all the Peerages granted of late Years, and we shall see so many Coronets for *Merit*. Every Consecration or Translation of a Bishop, a Mitre earn'd by *Merit*. Promotions of Generals and other Military Officers so strickly according to *Merit*, that Seniority and the highest *inferior Merits* are disregarded, Places conferr'd, Pensions bestowed by the Rule of *solid meritorious Service*. Nay, our very Commons have got into the same Road: A Borough shall send a worthy Gentleman, whose Face they never saw, for their Representative, purely because of his *Merit*. There is not an Excise-man, a Custom-house or Salt Officer, a Post-master, whose *Merit* every

every Child in the Neighbourhood cannot particularise. Let the *Chingse* match this if they can. Now, let us compare their Learning.

I cannot bring my self up to any high Pitch of Admiration for *Chingse* Literature. In short, he is a learned Man there that can read. I will not detract from their Merit tho': Their Reading must be a good deal harder than ours; but not so very much as to give them a great Preference. All their *Literati* speak the learned Language: In some Provinces it is understood by the common People just as almost every one speaks *French* at the *Seven-Dials*. The Ground-work of it too is *Chingse*; so that a Boy, learning his Lesson, hardly does so much as a Miss with us, taking up *French* from her Governess. As to their Characters, we are told, there are 80,000 of them; but the Knowledge of 10,000, or even of 8000 is enough to qualify a Man to write and read a great many of their Books; and their short Vocabulary contains no more. Their Graduates seldom know above 15,000 of them, and their very Doctors,
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the *Chinese* Academy, as it may be called, not above 40,000. The original Number is not near so great, for there are but 330 radical Words in the Language, which are varied in Signification by the Difference of Accent and Time, some of them eleven different Ways. Suppose the whole Number to be thus varied (which is very improbable) the Characters should be but 3630. What encreases the Number is the Combination of simple Characters; but we may well suppose such Combinations not to be intirely arbitrary, but rather the Result of the Characters mix'd together, as in the *Greek* Contractions of *Kata*, *Para*, *Peri*, and the like; one sees in the Contraction the Vestiges of its constituent Parts, and Boys are daily seen to acquire the Knowledge of such Contractions with Ease, and almost insensibly. Besides, if a Scholar has learned Characters enough to enable him to use the Dictionary (which is very exact, they say, and by its Nature must be a Dictionary by Figures, of which the Eye must judge, and not alphabetical like ours) he can be his own Master afterwards. And this is the

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easier because of their radical Marks; for Example, wherever a certain Stroke is found, the Character is sure to express some Tree, another stands for the general Note of a Mountain, a Man, &c.

True, it is no easy Matter to learn 3630 Characters, and yet the Labour is not so great as it seems. Suppose our Children be taught to call great A not by the Name of the Letter, but by another Name which they know; for Example, the Dog, B the Horse, C the Bull, and so forth, they would learn much faster than they can do in the present Way. And the Reason is this, with us the Sound is real; all our Articulations and Sounds have been long ago reduc'd, by Analysis, to the Alphabets which we use: The Character or Sign is indeed arbitrary, but the Sound signified is actually in Nature. And yet tho' A be an habitual Sound in a Boy's Mouth, he knows nothing of the Matter; but the Sounds A, Be, Ce are mere technical Words to him, not a bit easier to be remember'd than the Figures of the Characters: Whereas in *China* both the Character and Sound are arbitrary, the Cha-

Character not expressing the Sound as a Thing, but the Thing signified by that Sound; which Signification the Boy already knows: Thus if *Ming*, *Vang*, *Lou*, mean in China a Dog, a Horse, a Bull, the Boy is not taught that the Characters signify the Sounds *Ming*, *Vang*, or *Lou*, but that they signify a Dog, a Horse, or a Bull. I have heard a Story to this purpose of Conde *Clavijo* the Spanish Admiral, who perceiving that his fresh-water Men were very dull at getting the Names and Places of the Ship's Tackling, but very expert at *Ombre*, tied Cards to all his Cordage, and instead of calling to handle such a Rope, he cry'd out, *Hawl Spadille* or *Basto*; and this came to be understood with a very little Practice.

Thus the 3630 Characters will not take a vast while in learning. The next Work is to acquire the compound Letters, and then Boys are put to read *Confucius* and *Mencius*, but without explaining the Author's Sense till they have the Books by Heart: For though they know the Meaning of each Character and Word, yet the Sentences, till ex-

plain'd, are unintelligible to them, as we put our Children to compose at first in Nonsense.

But when these Characters are once learned, *Cbinese* Boys are much farther advanced than ours are when they have learned their Alphabet, for then they must syllable, and put the Syllables together, which a *Cbinese* Boy has no occasion for, his Characters doing all that. I am not sure but two Boys would learn to read the two Languages (Capacity and Application equal) nearly in the same Time. The *Cbinese* may be begun earlier; for in their Primmers the Figure of a Horse is printed along with the Character, so that the youngest Boy that can speak may make some little Progress.

After the Books of *Confucius* and *Mencius* have been explain'd to the Boys, they are put to compose; the Themes being given out of some of their Books of Authority. But by what Father *Du Halde* says of them in his second Volume, about Page 227, I fancy their Compositions would not please in this Part of the World. Their ordinary Stile is like the ordinary Stile every where,

where, good enough to be understood by. There is another Stile, which I imagine we should like pretty well, in which they write their Histories and Fables; and which the Father tells us is very *fine and delicate; expressing perfectly well, and with a great deal of Wit, Manners, and Characters; with lively Painting, and a pretty Contrast.* This I should think good enough for us: But they have a third Stile, their Sublime, which is always used when the Author means to shine; and of this I conceive the highest Perfection is to be quite out of Nature. There must be *noble Expressions, choice Terms, and musical Metaphors*: The Stile is *mysterious, concise, allegorical, and to the Unlearned obscure.* The Expression *lively, short, animated and thick sown with bold Similies and high-flown Metaphors.* The Author gives a Specimen of it thus: *The Christian Religion which is approv'd by the Emperor's Edict ought not to be molested. A Chinese Doctor would turn it in this Fashion: The Ink with which the Edict of the Emperor in favour of the Christian Religion is scarce dry, and you attempt to destroy*

It. Such a Passage, I doubt, would not have been quoted by *Longinus*.

A young *Chinese* thus accomplished to write *fine and delicate and noble*, is qualified to enter upon the Stage for Preferment. At the first Examination about three-fourths of the Candidates pass, and about two-thirds of the Remainder pass the Second. The sole Judge in each is a Mandarin; from whose Sentence I do not hear that any Appeal lies: And therefore I charitably suppose that the Children of the Poor are preferred for God's Sake, if their Merits be equal or nearly so; and that most of the Youths postponed are in easy Circumstances, who can live, without their Wits, on their Rents: To suppose the contrary, would be to call in Question the Integrity of those Mandarins, on whom the Law reposes this ample Trust.

The next Examination is for obtaining the Degree of Batchelor, which is undergone by the Scholars before a particular Mandarin, commission'd from Court for each Province every three Years; who selects one out of about each twenty-seven of the whole Candidates.

dates. This, *like the rest*, is done *strictly according to Merit*; for there are Locks and Seals, and a hundred other Devices to keep the Judge from knowing the the Authors of each Composition. And yet, says my Author, *these Precautions are sometimes render'd useless by Intrigue*. And I may add, that if there is Room for *Intrigue*, which this points at, nothing can be easier than to conduct it. One would think this must be a Place not unaccessible to *Intrigue*; for my Author also tells me, that before the severe Discipline introduced by the late Emperor, this Deputation was commonly obtain'd by the Mediation of underhand Presents at Court, and sometimes pretty high ones: This in any one but a Mandarin I should call buying an Office by Bribery; but tho' it were so, would a Minister-Plenipotentiary, so blinded by the Law, be guilty of selling his good Offices, do you think? I am sure none of our Mandarins would.

Well, I find malicious Folks will say, that hitherto the veriest Dunce with Money may come as good Speed as the greatest Genius without, if he can but

procure the Favour of three Mandarins at different Times; the Price of which perhaps may be known by an established (though not avowed) Tarif, so much for the first, second, third Examination: Or, if the Blockhead be notorious, a Trifle more. Still he has made but a poor Advance; only to be free from whipping. He cannot be a Licentiate, and thereby entitled to Preferment, without a fourth Examination; at which two Mandarins sent from Court preside, and the Examination it self is made by principal Officers of the Province, and their Assessors. Now our Dunce, I think, is at the End of his Travels.

Not yet, by your Favour. *It is not (says Father Du Halde) so easy to corrupt the Judges for this Degree; and if in such a Project Recourse is had to Intrigue, it must be kept very secret, and set a going as far back as at Peking.* These Words seem to mean, that in this Election of 60 out of 10,000, *the Court List* has the best Chance for carrying it: So that our Dunce ——— you conceive me. How much cleverer would it be, just to own the Thing, and let an honorary Master

Master be admitted upon the Royal Recommendation as our Universities do? It were to be wish'd the Peers of *Scotland* would consider a little of this.

Now view the Dunce in his Orb, administering Justice with both Hands, (I mean the one held out, and the other taking in) just as his Interest at *Peking* stands; for I dare say he was not quite such a Dunce only to brueque the Honour of the Name, and there to stop: But yet one Thing no Power, no Interest could command, the highest Degree, the Doctorship; the Possibility to use indirect Practices there: For the Emperor (or some body for him) proposes the Theme, and his own imperial Lights judge of the comparative Skill of the Candidates, who are in number as many Licentiates as please to claim for the Choice of 300 out of the whole, once in three Years: At least, if the Emperor does not judge in Person, he judges in the Persons of his Ministers, which in all polite Countries is held to be precisely the same Thing.

The Criterions of Merit upon this impartial Scheme will be evident: That

Composition must carry the Day, that the most strongly recommends to the Monarch Disinterestedness, publick Parsimony, private Liberality, personal Attention, Temper, cordial Gratitude to the People, Openness, Non-Rampity, and the like *Confucian* Virtues: And any Man that would recommend Monopoly of the Prince's Ear, Fascination of his Eye, Corruption, Flattery, Coffer-filling, Distrust, or Jobbing of any kind, would put a perpetual Negative on his own Fortunes.

But alas! after this Excursion I am forced to confess, That what has actually happened must at least be possible; and that not only Knaves, who may be learned enough, and write very good Moral Dissertations, but even my Dunce may pass the Barrier of the Doctorate after all his other Leaps: For my Author tells us a History of the last Emperor, *Cang Hi*, who being jealous of his Glory, and observing both that the Number of Books published in his Reign was small in proportion to former Times, and the Books themselves carelessly written, took in his Head to suspect that his Royal Academy of

of Doctors made their Dignity a *Sine cure*, and would have them examin'd a-new: A terrible Revolution to some of them! for several were degraded, and sent home into their Provinces. It is recorded as a Proof of the Emperor's nice Knowledge, that a Mandarin of the greatest Learning, to whom his Majesty had committed the Charge of examining the Compositions, was in every Article (but one, of which he humbly doubted) of the imperial Opinion; Which, whether it proves most the Complaisance of the Mandarin, or the great Trust his Prince reposed in him, is hard to say. But surely the Man of the most unquestionable Merit was made choice of; consequently, there could be nothing like Intrigue in the Disgrace of the Doctors; unless those Brutals the Tartar Ministers chose this Way to put an Affront on Erudition, and possibly to stigmatize the least exceptionable Part of that learned Body.

What we call a learned Man in *Europe* is sometimes one of the Moles that dig in the Rubbish of *Greek* or *Latin* Phrase, and Antiquities; Sometimes one

of the lower Moles of the yet less glorious Heaps of Monachism; not seldom, a diligent Searcher of Mosses, Petrefactions, Shells, and Butterflies: But we suffer, by stealth, the Name likewise to be applied to such plodding Mortals as give the Laws of Nature and Motion, invent or improve useful Arts, select what is valuable from Times past, cultivate the Mind, anatomize the Soul, point the rational Way to Health, distinguish the Bounds of Right and Wrong, or render Religion amiable; and to one who can perform such laborious Works, in measured Words, with a foolish sort of Madness, we give a small Bit of Laurel, and the Title of a Poet.

Not so in *China*: Their History is ample indeed, but is confined to themselves: Their Religion lays Weight only on the filial Duty, to the unavoidable Neglect of every other: For wherever more Stress is put upon any Point of Religion than it should bear, the rest must suffer for it. Thus a Mandarin who has the Misfortune to lose his Father or Mother must not barely put himself in

Mourn-

Mourning; he must resign his Offices, and go weep at Home for three Years. So says the Law; but Reason says loudly, that he ought to remember he is a Man, and may not have three Years to live, but should work for his Family in the mean Time. The Decencies of external Grief are but customary; and it is a faulty Custom that permits them to continue so long. The inward Sorrow no Tribunal of Rites can regulate; and yet *Confucius* himself insists a little too much on the Outside, missed I imagine by habitual Use.

The *Chinese* Morals are very good, and not the worse for being easy; but the Science of plain Morality is the soonest learned of any, the whole Question is, As to the Practice. Their Physicks and Mathematicks are not to be boasted of: Their Metaphysicks and Pneumatics, at best, worse than ours. Their Execution of Justice at random: Their Medicine but ill understood: Their Religion intirely political. If this is the Case, what is a *Chinese* learned Man? One of the inferior Class can write a pretty Novel or Story in his own Language:

guage : The higher Authors can make a plausible Discourse on Morality or Government. What then avail all these Affectations of a Research for Learning ? Is any Thing more wanted than an honest Man, that can read and write, and has Sense enough for his Business ? The more Sense, the Employment the higher. Is there any Clerk in an Office here that has fewer Qualifications than the *Chinese* Examinations would provide to them, except the first, which no Examination can reach.

I am almost tempted to think, that a frivolous Spite has sometimes possessed the Governors of this wise People, if what *Du Halde* says is true, That fine Hand-writing is a necessary Endowment for a *Chinese* Officer. I could name some of the finest Writers I ever knew, who write in very bad Hands. All these must have been cast in *China*, for the Exception the Author makes of extraordinary Genius is good for nothing, where the Number to be returned is limited. A very learned Man mistook a Stroke in a Character, and was set aside for ever, with a Joke so very poor, that by the like Rule

it should have broke the Mandarin who used it. Nay, so trivial is their Fondness for fine Writing, that they value it (especially if it be old) before the finest Painting, and carefully make Collections of old good-for-nothing Writings, just as some wise Folks do at Home. I mean not to arraign the Collectors of valuable Manuscripts; they deserve the Thanks of the Publick, as Preservers of the Vouchers of Truth; but I may use Freedom with their subaltern Imitators, of which I rejoice to see the Generation decrease.

I would add a Word or two as to their military Mandarins, if I durst. But as I do not know how it may relish with our own Gentlemen of the Army, I must be short. The Civil Magistrate judges of military Merit: The Candidate must shoot, and push, and throw a Weight before him. Only the Jesuit says nothing either about Blustering, Swearing, Powdering, or Voting. One Thing more: It seems, they have Authors among them answering to *Vigotius* and *Polyænus*; with Systems of Fortifications, and of the Art Military; and if they

they had them, I do not know but *Cæsar's Commentaries*, and *Polybius* with *Folard's Dissertations* entire, (if the Government in *France* would let us have them) Mr. *Bland's Book*, *Feuquiere's Memoirs*, those of the Earl of *Peterborough*, and of the last War, if any one of three whom I could name would delight Posterity with it, would be read with pleasure even in *China*, and make a Serjeant well instructed in them, be prized almost as much as an ignorant Lieutenant-General. They must not hope yet a-while for the Happiness of seeing in *Tartar* or *Chinese* the glorious Events of the War, into which the fortunate Star of our present Great Man has at last cast us. And yet, without the Spirit of Prophecy, I will venture a Prediction, That if his Majesty has the Happiness of that worthy Person's Councils during the War, as during these many Years of nominal Peace, it cannot last long, I think hardly a Year, let the *Spaniards* do their best or worst: And this is one Blessing beyond the Power of Fortune.

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However, it seems, these *Chinese* affect to have it said of them, That some Knowledge in their Military Learning gives a Chance for a Mandarinate in the Army. Here is the Difference between them and us. Their Officer can show the *Way to take a Town*: Generally this goes no farther than Theory, and so far we are equal: But ours can do his Business better by *gaining a Borough*.

We find many Examples in the *Chinese* Writings of fine Sayings, taken from the Mouths of the Prime Ministers. I cannot for many Reasons hold this Coin as current: But I mention the Thing to shew the Difference between the Eastern and Western World. In which last it is not expected, that such a sublime Officer should preserve the Appearances of, or even the Pretensions to Virtue or Publick Spirit. I must confess, that the whimsical Cardinal in *France*, and this Don with the old Periwig in *Spain*, and our Domestick Scourge of all the Dons, are Exceptions from the *European* Rule: Particularly the last, who insists upon the strict *Chinese* Merit of fine Writing as a Title to Preferment,
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and kindly imparts to the Publick in Gazeteers and anniversary Pamphlets, Treaties and Conventions; the Specimens that may teach Posterity how the dangerous Ladder of ———— Preferment ought to be mounted.

But the general Rule is, that the Prime Minister of an absolute Prince that thinks a little, will probably have some Shew of Merit. Where a Prince is only *pursuing* Power, he must work with such Tools as will assist him to overturn Liberty; in which the familiar Nod, the adroit and significant Shaking by the Hand, a voluble Tongue, and a Heart of undistinguishing Enterprize, may be of great Service. But Liberty once laid asleep, it may be of use to get some one that may keep the Slaves in Quiet by the Opiates of a grave Outside, seeming Tenderness, some small Favours, and the most paternal Professions.

I should not dislike the Enquiry you once proposed to make, into the comparative Value of Prime Minister's Places. The chief *Colao* of *China* has no great visible Appointments, and he has
never

never told a Missionary what he reckon'd his Employment worth. We have not heard, that they have been at any Time very lavish on Buildings, Painting, Hunting, or Whores: And yet I can't think but the Prime Minister of *China* must be a very good Thing. They say, that he of *Japan* has 150,000 *l.* a Year of avowed Salary. A Civil List of near a Million yearly is swallow'd up there by about twenty-four Persons. Indeed they have no Place-men in Parliament, otherwise perhaps it would be more diffuse.

Sir *Thomas Roe* tells us, that a Governor of a Province in the *Mogul's* Country (and a very honest Man, as Courtiers went there) own'd to him, that besides about 45,000 *l.* of Salary allow'd to him, he was permitted to cheat in the Article of his little Army near 90,000 *l.* a Year; and he reckon'd himself but of a mean Class. What vast Fortunes did *Pallas* and *Narcissus* raise? Nay, the virtuous *Seneca*. That great Soul Cardinal *Richlieu* left an immense Estate by way of Neglect. These Examples may furnish the *Gazeteers* with some Notes, to justify

justify the moderate Acquisitions of their Patron. Let them add, that if there are any seeming Exorbitancies, some Allowances must be made for the Perquisites arising from *superior Judgment in the Alley*, a Branch of Commerce unknown to all the other Adventurers, for *Money'd Fame*.

Whence can proceed the Cowardice of the *Chinese*? I have been informed, that even at *Canton* they tremble for the *Russians*, and that an Army of ten thousand Men might range the Country from one End to the other. I shall offer at a Reason; first, they are Slaves, and Slavery is a dreadful Draw-back upon Courage: Next, the better Sort who should enspirit the rest are curious Thinkers, philosophizing Slaves, that have refined Bondage into a Duty, and interwoven with it their very System of Virtue: Next, their habitual Coolness might give them the Stratagem Part of War, if War were merely a Chess-play, to be play'd at one's Leisure; but Rapidity is excluded by their Calmness, Presence of Mind on sudden Emergences, by the Slowness inculcated upon them, Ardor
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by their acquired Complexion, and well-judged Experiment, the surest Game of a fertile and correct Head, by their Spirit of Method.

And yet I can suppose this habitual Course of Oppression to proceed without ever coming to the Emperor's Ears, unless he will be his own Minister. The *Colaos* say all is well, so say the Tribunals; the Censors say nothing to the contrary: A Disease tho' may be breeding all the while, too inveterate to be cured when it breaks out. The Voice of the People can never be known but from the People. How far Resignation to the Will of others may carry a Prince was seen by the Example of *Claudius*, whose Empress that managed him, did in the Face of the World marry another Man, confiding that no one would dare to tell the Emperor, or that he would not believe it.

That Sort of Mandarin whom Captain *Gulliver* calls a *Flapper*, methinks would be a very proper Officer for the Court of *China*: For we are sure by Experience, that in *Europe* Sovereigns know the Grievances of their Subjects by

a sort of Instinct, without being told of them, and redress them with a Quickness next to that of Lightening. Yet all Nations are not born to be so happy. A large Country in one of the *Chinese* Provinces was altogether deserted in 1696, when Father *Gerbillon* past that Way with the Emperor; for which he gives as a Reason, A few bad Crops, *joined with the incessant Plunders of the Mandarins under Pretext of Taxes for supporting a petty War.* This is the fatherly Government of Mandarins; and we have no room to doubt that this holds all over *China*; for in all the Journals given to us we hear of big Towns, vast Cities, with noble Bridges, Highways, Canals, triumphal Arches, and other Articles of Police and Magnificence: But for the most part the Extremity of private Want is painted, and most of the Towns are described as ruinous and meanly inhabited. The Jesuits assign the Civil Wars for the Cause: But this must be altogether frivolous; for the Wars had ceased more than forty Years before the Times of which they speak, and the very saving of exposed Children would

would have replaced the lost Numbers in half that Time : Nay, for a further Proof, *China* is represented even in those Days as greatly over-stocked. So that the Decay of their Towns must be ascribed to the Discouragement of Commerce by the Oppressions of Officers. This would naturally drive the People to the Country, where there is always less of Plundering than in Towns, for a pretty plain Reason, because it is impossible to station Officers there so commodiously for Harassment. The Inhabitants once being retired, most sort of Handicrafts would thrive very well in small Villages, or even in Sub-farms or Lone-houses.

But what occasion'd my present Reflexion was this, The Population of which I have now spoken was evident to Father *Gerbillon*, who was at the Trouble to think of a Cause for it, while the Emperor, who lodged in the same Town, and travelled a horse-back, which made the Sight of the Place unavoidable to him, does not seem to have perceived any Thing new or deserving Animadversion in this Scene of Desolation.

tion. *Quæ sunt Occulis subjecta fidelibus*, are the properest to move Compassion; but this good *Cang-hi* would pass thro' a Country undone by his Ministers, without enquiring after the Cause: Probably because a King's Eyes ought to be shut to all Objects, but such as are presented by the proper Officers.

I thought of another Reason: This Spot lay near *Tartary*, which it has been the Policy of the *Tartar* Emperors to people with *Chinese*. The Exportation of those Inhabitants must have been to *Tartary*; for where else could they go, all the rest of *China* being over-peopled? In that View I commend the pious Rapine of the Mandarins, co-operating with the paternal Bowels of their Emperor, who instead of draining *China* of Silver and Gold, for which the *Chinese* had some Value, rather chose to drain it of its Numbers that were a Burden to them.

Yet, of all Princes on Earth, the Emperor of *China* should best know what passes: for he not only reads the Newspapers, but he takes the Merit of writing them too. That Fancy of the *China*

Gazette

Gazette is admirable. It is not like ours of *London*; where, now and then, an Article from *Copenhagen* or *Berlin* makes the whole Feast. It is a voluminous Work, comes out every Day, and speaks the Emperor's true Thoughts of all his Mandarins from the highest to the lowest. It tells you how for ten Dozen of *Song* (so the *Chinese* call *Lies*) his Imperial Majesty did the *Tuesday* before bestow on the Posteriors of the Ch---r of his Ex-----r one Dozen of fatherly Kicks, and half a hundred Bastinados on his Secretary of State for one unguarded Truth; all which in that Country pass for Acts of Correction, and not for Displeasure; something but not altogether like what Mr. *Dryden* says in the *Rural Ladies*, "Blows from angry Kings, though they are meant Affronts, are construed Favours." It is not, however, to be imagined that the Emperor compiles the Journal: He only revises and corrects it with Strokes of his Red-Pencil, which none but himself dares use by Law. Yet I suspect that the Red-pencil may commonly be handled by the Prime Minister, if the News-papers contain particular Encomiums on his

Administration, or rather in all Cases, unless when the *Gazette* discloses some Secret of corporal Admonition ; there I can believe the Red-pencil. Do you fancy that the King of *Spain* ever read the *Manifesto*, or that his Most Christian Majesty peruses every *Lettre de Cachet* that dispatches a Grumbler to the *Bastille* ? No, I dare say ; and yet, *I the King* is prefixt to the one, and *Such is our Pleasure* subjoined to the other ; meaning the Pleasure of the Minister in both.

One considerable Advantage attends this Institution, That the *Gazette* being the only New-paper tolerated in all the Empire, and the Vicegerents of Heaven's Vicegerent being incapable of Falseness, this is a political Creed, fresh provided every Day for the *Quid-Nuncs* of *China* ; which it would be Damnation to disbelieve. If ever an Act is attempted here for retrenching the Licentiousness of the Press, I would recommend the Plan of this *Gazette* as worthy of some Regard ; particularly in this Shape, that no Article of News or political Dissertation whatever, be published except in the *London Gazette* or *Gazetteer* ; and that the Bench of Bishops should

should compose a Form of Excommunication against all who shall presume to disbelieve what is there set forth.

It is allowed to be a laudable Practice to borrow praise-worthy Hints from our Neighbours ; and, therefore, since my Hand is in, I will suggest another *Chinese* Custom, well meriting our Consideration, which I would compound with a Piece of *Swedish* Wisdom. In this last Country, which pretends to some Freedom, the Unmannerliness of the Pulpit, whereby an ill-taught Rabble may be excited to Sedition, is thus curbed. A Sett of fifty-two Sermons (or fifty-three, if the Year begins on a *Sunday*) is composed yearly at Court, and transmitted to every Parish Minister in the Kingdom, with strict Injunction, under heavy Penalties, that he in no wise neglect to read one and no more of these and on other Sermon or Sermons every Lord's-Day that Year. Thus there is a charming Uniformity in the Doctrines deliver'd, and in the Belief of the People that give Credit thereto.

In *China*, they have no Parochial Clergy ; but it is the Office of the Man-
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darin of the Place to convocate his Charge at stated Times, and there to preach their Duty to them. We have translated, in the Collection of Father *Du Halde*, an authentick Homily of a Mandarin. Out of this, and the *Swedish* Policy abovemention'd, I think a tolerable Scheme could be framed; but I am sensible that it would not be prudent all at once to introduce it into this Country. I would therefore only restrain the Resident Clergy to the Homilies recommended in our Thirty-Nine Articles; and would propose that my Scheme should take place in Parishes whereof the *Incumbents* (let me see, is that a right Word? Yes, in some Sense it may do: *Incubus*, the Night-Mare.) I say, whereof the *Incumbents* are entitled to the Honour of the Scarf; all which dignified Saints I will suppose to be called to that *Babylon London*, as Missionaries to convert the Infidels there, and build a Rampart against the Wickedness of the Place: That every such beneficed Person should be obliged to name for his Curate, the nearest Exciseman to the Parish Church; who should audibly read

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on *Sundays* and Holidays a Discourse sent from Court, and stamp'd with the Seal of the first Commissioner of the Treasury, and any twelve of the Archbishops and Bishops at his Election. That the Doctrine of Standing Armies, Septennial Parliaments, Parliamentary Dependency, and Excises, may be set in a just Light, and that we may know the exact Bounds between Innocence and Corruption, for quieting the Consciences of such as would not by any Means do for a Pension, what they might be brought to do for a Place. You take my Meaning, so I shall not now enlarge on my Project, but proceed to another still a greater Favourite of mine, with the Hint of which this Description of *China* has furnished me.

I heartily pity the poor *Chinese*, who being unable to provide for their Infants, are forced to leave them in the Streets, as Preys to the first Dog that lights on them. The whole Plan of their Government is built on fatherly Affection, and yet Necessity makes them forget that they are Fathers. I own, indeed, the Necessity is unavoidable, and not to be cured by an Hospital for Foundlings,

because the whole Product of the Country is little enough for the rest of the Inhabitants; so that what is provided for the Foundlings must starve just as many in other Places: And indeed our Accounts say, that in Times of Famine (which must be very frequent where the Climate is so various) many Millions die of Hunger. I would fain do something to save these poor Innocents, whom the Missionaries sometimes only can relieve by Baptism.

We hear many Complaints that Labourers are wanting to till the Ground in this Island; and no Wonder, considering that as the *Irish* Army is recruited from *Britain*, as well as our Regiments abroad, the Soldiery are not fewer in Number than 40,000 Men in Time of Peace; and the Sailors are at least twice as many. I know that some People have got it in their Heads, that our Army is dangerous to Freedom: I do not know why: The common Soldiers are *Englishmen*; and I know no Set of Men in the Nation, to please whom less Pains have been bestowed. If ours is no Army, there is no room to fear it. If it is, it must have some Gallant Fellows

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in it ; and Gallant Fellows will be heard by the rest. Gallant Fellows too will like their Officers, if they be Soldiers, and will despise them if they are not. They will ask how it comes to pass, that there is neither Grace to employ such a Lord, nor Courage to turn him out. They will get it in their Heads, that such a one is a younger Officer than such other old Generals, who with ten times his Merit were too saucy in their latter Days to learn the new Commendation of Obscureness. I am so little afraid of their joining to oppress the People, that I look upon them as a Body capable of drilling and disciplining them, if ever there should be a Commotion. In short, if we had another Army in their stead I could wish them fairly at the Plow.

As for the Sailors, I do not expect that any Man will be an Advocate for that stubborn turbulent Race (I speak of all under the Rank of Captains, and some of those too, and even of their Superior;) that, for ought I see, would turn Cannibals if they were suffered, and would eat *Spaniards* raw, unless they were kept out of their Way. I am not such an Enemy neither to the *British* Navigation, as

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to wish that all Sailors were immediately employ'd in Husbandry; but I hope to see the Time: 120,000 Men added to the Labourers already employed would soon show a Change on the Country. But how shall we find Soldiers and Sailors, you'll say? Not yet a-while, but in time you may: Now listen to my Project.

I would lay on a new Tax on Bread or Small-Beer, or any other Article of Luxury, for laying up a Stock of Rice, to be bought in the cheapest Countries of the *East-Indies*; Part to be employ'd in maintaining thirty Vessels, or so, that should constantly run a Course between Fort *St. George* and *Canton* in *China*, or wherever else they may be admitted. The Supercargoes of those Vessels should have it in charge to pick up all the Infants that are to be found exposed in the Streets: This, I suppose, will soon come to be a Matter of some Cost; for tho' at first Look it would seem that such Children being abandoned by their Parents, are free to the first Comer; nay, that it is Charity to take them; yet it must be consider'd that the exposed Children are not wholly useless; for indeed Humanity forbids the *Chinese* to feed

feed on their Infants, yet there is no Meat commoner there than Dog's Flesh; so that though they will not eat their Children directly, yet they let the Dogs eat them, and then they eat the Dogs. This new Trade will therefore soon create a Dearth of Dog's Flesh; so that some small Thing must be allowed for the Prime-cost of each Child, and a Competency to the Supercargo and Crew, besides Perquisites. The *East-India* Company too must be satisfied for Incroachment on their Field of exclusive Commerce.

Every Vessel may carry fifty Nurses, and each Nurse while on Ship-board must suckle two Babes, a Boy and a Girl: I presume Nurses may be had very reasonably on the Coast of *Coromandel*. At Fort *St. George* a Nurse will easily bring up two, with the Help of Spoon-meat. Each of the thirty Ships may make four Trips in a Year; so that every Year 12,000 Children will be imported from Fort *St. George*; whereof one half Boys: But I would add six Vessels more to answer the Accidents of Mortality. An Hospital must be built capable of containing them with their Nurses.

Nurses, endowed with frugal but sufficient Allotments, all under the Inspection of the Governor, who shall give an Oath of Fidelity on the Old and New Testament, and on the Alcoran, lest peradventure he be a *Jew* or a *Turk* in his Heart. At six Years old they shall be taught to read the *Gazetteer*; out of which a Catechism should be compiled for their Use. I would also have *Chinese* School-masters invited over to inculcate the Duty of filial Respect to their Patron, as a Father in the *Chinese* Sense.

At the Age of Eighteen they shall be brought over to *England*, and in one Day christened, and each young Man married to one of his own Country Women, the Prime-Minister is to be always their God-Father by Proxy; and in Honour of the Founder I would have them call'd by the Surname of *Fitz-Robert*. Two thousand Men every Year I would list into the Army, and place out 4000 to the Sea. This continued for twenty Years, will, at a very small Expence, change the Complexion of the Army and Fleet. By that Time the Children of the first Comers will be ready

dy for Recruits, and then the Annual Charge will cease. I would not have them naturalized though, because they might at last come to think themselves *Englishmen*. Only their Children should be Livery-Men born of the City of *London*, which would humble that proud Nest, if any Thing can.

The Advantages of this Scheme are inexpressible. First, I gain 120,000 labouring Men for the Service of Husbandry. Next, the like Number of Youths virtuously trained up in ministerial Principles, and neither liable to be seduced by the Ties of Blood or Friendship, nor blinded with the Prejudices of *English* Education. Thirdly, by the continual Encrease of the *Pitz-Roberts*, who will consider themselves all as the Children of one Man, a Prime-Minister may, at least, come to have a Party in the Nation, which the Enemies of the wisest Minister this Island can boast, have been so cruel as to deny that he has.

To what purpose all this Hotch-potch? Only to this; I never believed that an enslaved Nation could be happy, or well-governed, but by Fits and Starts under a Prince

Prince thrown away upon Slaves. I see now no Cause to esteem the *Chinese* Government. Even *France*, tho' under the Management of *Fleury*, moves not my Envy. The good old Man must die, and I protest I know not of such another Minister, unless we lend them one: It is *Britain* only, I except no other Country on Earth, that is happy by Constitution: Happy in this peculiar Respect, that other Nations may be made miserable by hood-winking the Sovereign; *Britain* cannot be undone unless the People too is blinded, nay, helps to tie on the Bandage.

The Chief of a Commonwealth mocked with Royal Ensigns is an inglorious Pegeantry: The Lord of Slaves, a dreadful and unamiable Name. But were an Angel commanded to bear Rule in this Globe, it would alleviate his Absence from Heaven to carry that beloved Title, which at present only his *Britannick* Majesty can claim on Earth, *A King of Freemen*. Rant, mere Rant, I hear you cry. But I know you will forgive so honest Enthusiasm.

F I N I S.